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## Networks and Translation within the Republic of Letters: The Case of Theodore Haak (1605–1690)\*

*Jan van de Kamp*

A qui ou a quoy sert le Talent dans le Mouchoir? Il faut mieux d'avoir et de sçavoir moins, que d'en manquer la vraye jouissance, qui gist en la communication, en faisant le bien du mien, aux autres, et participant à ce contentement, que Dieu mesme poursuit, en maniere de dire, avec tant d'ardeur, et sans se lasser aucunement, de bien faire, voire au plus ingrate du monde.

Who or what is served by a talent wrapped in a handkerchief? It is better to have and to know less than to lack true joy, which consists in communicating, in doing good to others with my ability, and participating in this contentment which God Himself pursues, as it were, with such zeal and without in any way tiring of doing good, nay, not to the world's worst ingrate.

THEODORE HAAK TO MARIN MERSENNE, 6 August 1647<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

Among early modern European scholars there existed networks within which they exchanged data and insights. As these scholars lived before the time that science became increasingly specialized, they were polyhistorians and wrote not only about natural philosophy, medicine and alchemy, but also on religion, history and politics. A famous correspondence network within this 'Republic of Letters' was the circle initiated by Samuel Hartlib.<sup>2</sup> An important participant

\* I would like to express thanks to Christiaan Bremmer for his comments on this article and to Alexander Thomson for correcting the English.

1 Letter of Theodore Haak to Marin Mersenne, Aug. 6, 1647: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. Françaises, 6206, fol. 167, as published in: Brown H., *Scientific Organizations in seventeenth century France, 1620–1680* (Baltimore: 1934) 269. Translation by Alexander Thomson.

2 On correspondence networks and the concept of the 'Republic of Letters' see: Berkvens-Stevelinck C. – Bots H. – Hässeler J. (eds.), *Les grands intermédiaires culturels de la République*

in the Hartlib Circle was Theodore Haak, who not only wrote his own texts but also translated many others.<sup>3</sup> As translator, he rendered scientific, political and, especially, theological texts into other languages.

Recent studies have provided us with more information about Haak's translations of theological writings, an aspect of his work which Pamela R. Barnett in her biography of Haak discussed only partially.<sup>4</sup> In order to attain a better understanding of these translations, one has to view them in connection with Haak's activities in the realms of science and politics. As this volume deals with scientific networks and correspondence, I will pose the question of what role the network in which Haak participated played in his translations of theological books.<sup>5</sup> In addition, I will try to find out in what manner Haak translated

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*des Lettres. Etudes de réseaux de correspondances du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: 2005); Mulsow M., *Die unanständige Gelehrtenrepublik. Wissen, Libertinage und Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: 2007). On Hartlib, see: Turnbull G.H., *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius: Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (London: 1947); Greengrass M. – Leslie M. – Raylor T. (eds.), *Samuel Hartlib and universal reformation*, Studies in Intellectual Communication (Cambridge: 1994).

- 3 On the role of translations in the circulation of transfer and culture in Early Modern times in general, see: Pantin I., "The Role of Translations in European Scientific Exchanges in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in Burke P. – Po-chia Hsia R. (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2007) 163–179; Stockhorst S. – Kiesant K. – Roloff H.-G. (eds.), *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*, Internationale Forschungen zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft 131 (Amsterdam: 2010); Cook H.J. – Dupré S. (eds.), *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Münster: 2012).
- 4 Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 13–18, 22, 71–75, 114–119. On Haak's theological translations, see: McKenzie E.C., *British devotional literature and the rise of German Pietism*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of St. Andrews: 1984) vol. 1, pp. 140.; Sträter U., *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke und Hall. Studien zur Rezeption der englischen Erbauungsliteratur in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: 1987) 102–111; Damrau P., *The Reception of English Puritan Literature in Germany* (London: 2006) 96–133. In addition to the translations mentioned by Barnett, Haak was also the translator of: Scudder Henry, *Eines wahren Christen tägliche Wallfahrt oder eine trewhertzige Wegweisung und Anleytung, wie man zu einem gottseligen und gerühigen Leben und Wandel gelangen möge*, trans. T. Haak (Frankfurt am Main, Johann Friedrich Weiss: 1635), cf. McKenzie E.C., *A catalog of British devotional and religious books in German translation from the Reformation to 1750* (Berlin: 1997) 364, no. 1497. Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 14, n. 24 doubts the assertion by Martin Kempe that Haak was the translator of this book. Haak also was the translator of: Whitfield Henry, *Ermunter dich* (Amsterdam, Johann Jansson, 1638), cf. McKenzie, *British devotional literature* vol. 1, 143ff.; McKenzie, *A catalog* 433, no. 1769; *Bätkunst* (Basel 1639, publisher unknown, 1639), cf. McKenzie, *A catalog* 4, no. 4.
- 5 I have investigated the role of networks in regard to the production, distribution and reception of translations of devotional literature in my dissertation: Kamp J. van de, "auff bitte und einrahten etzlicher frommen Menschen ins hochteutsche ubersetzet": *Deutsche*

his source texts, and what a study of this process reveals about his practice as a translator.

This article is structured as follows. First, I will give an outline of Haak's life and work, within which his translating work will be discussed.<sup>6</sup> I will divide this biographical part into three subsections, which each deal with the contexts in which Haak was working at a given moment (although there are not always clear boundaries between these fields): Haak as a fundraiser for his oppressed fellow Christians in Germany; Haak's role in debating and translating natural philosophy; and Haak in his political offices. Second, I will give some examples of Haak's method in translating theological works, as a case study for his practice as a translator. Finally, I will draw a conclusion in which I seek to answer the question of the role of networks in Haak's translations. As the subject of translation in Royal Society circles is discussed elsewhere in this volume, this paper focusses not so much on his translation work there, but rather on his less-studied theological translations—both to show how he operated within a network of scholars, and as a window through which to view his translating practice more generally.

### Haak as a Fundraiser for His Oppressed Fellow Christians in Germany

Haak, born on 25 July 1605 at Neuhausen near Worms, was through his mother Maria Tossanus a kinsman of the Huguenot families Tossanus and Spanheim, among whom were a couple of theologians and other learned men.<sup>7</sup> Already in his youth, Haak may have become acquainted with the irenic stance of Palatine Reformed theology, which strove for a reconciliation with Lutheranism.<sup>8</sup> Due

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*Übersetzungen englischer und niederländischer reformierter Erbauungsbücher 1667–1697 und die Rolle von Netzwerken*, Ph.D. dissertation (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam: 2011).

- 6 In this biographical part I draw particularly on Barnett, *Theodore Haak*, to which I have added data from the newer literature. See also Keller A.G., "Haak, Theodore (1605–1690)", in Harrison B. (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11827>, accessed 24th August 2015; Poole W., "A Fragment of the Library of Theodore Haak (1605–1690)", *Electronic British Library Journal* (2007) article 6, 1–37. See for this section, Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 9–33.
- 7 Rudolph, M., *Tossanus (Toussain de Beaumont). Beiträge zur Geschichte einer Hugenottenfamilie und der damit verbundenen Sippenkreise Couet du Vivier, Durant und Ferry* (Innsingen: 2010). See also Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 9–33.
- 8 Benrath G.A., "Die konfessionellen Unionsbestrebungen des Kurfürsten Karl Ludwig von der Pfalz († 1680)", *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins* 116 (1968) 187–252; Hotson H., "Irenicism in the Confessional Age: The Holy Roman Empire, 1563–1648", in Louthan H.P. –

to the Thirty Years' War he could not study at the university of Heidelberg, for which reason he went abroad to England, a country which had strong ties with the Palatinate due to the marriage of the 'Winter King' Frederick v, Elector Palatine, to the British princess Elizabeth Stuart in 1613.<sup>9</sup>

Due to the unstable political and military situation in the Palatinate in the following years, Haak lived partly in England, partly on the continent. From 1625 to 1626, he studied at Oxford and Cambridge. Together with three fellow Germans, he followed a practical training for ministry led by the minister John White in Dorchester.<sup>10</sup> In 1626 he went to Cologne, where he joined an underground Reformed congregation. Every day while there, he read to the members an extract of a German translation he was producing of *The Mystery of Self-Deceiving* (1615) by Daniel Dyke. Reading the translation served as a substitution for having a minister.

From 1628 to 1631, Haak learned theology as well as mathematics from Thomas Allen in Oxford, at Gloucester Hall. Haak was ordained as deacon in the Church of England in 1631 by the well-known Bishop Joseph Hall. While Haak had not obtained a degree, he never obtained a benefice either, for he did not take full clerical orders.

In various ways, Haak tried to supply his countrymen with financial and spiritual goods. Around 1632, Haak was one of two men who were commissioned, among others via the London Dutch Reformed Church, to collect money in England for the Reformed ministers from the Palatinate who had been exiled due to the war.<sup>11</sup> From 1633 onwards, Haak travelled through Germany and the Netherlands. Haak's first translation, German into English, was published in 1633. The original was a lamentation sermon by his cousin Friedrich Schloer, minister at the German Church at The Hague, on the occasion of the deaths

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Zachmann R.C. (eds.), *Conciliation and confession: the struggle for unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648* (Notre Dame, IN: 2004) 228–285, there 234–237, 258ff.

9 Wilson P.H., *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge MA: 2009); Rüde M., *England und Kurpfalz im werdenden Mächteuropa (1608–1632): Konfession—Dynastie—kulturelle Ausdrucksformen* (Stuttgart: 2007); Pursell B.C., *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot: 2003).

10 Grell O.P., *Dutch Calvinists in early Stuart London: The Dutch church in Austin Friars 1603–1642* (Leiden: 1989) 181. Grell mentions four students from the Palatinate who followed the training by White in 1626: 'Mr. Sleer, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Haake and Mr. Hopff', cf. Grell *Dutch Calvinists* 181. 'Sleer' is probably Frederike Schloer (see: n. 12), 'Fisher' and 'Hopff' cannot be identified.

11 Grell O.P., *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: 2011) 186, 201–214, 218, 226.

of both the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, and the King of Bohemia, Frederick V, in late 1632.<sup>12</sup>

About 1635, Haak came into contact with Samuel Hartlib and his friends and correspondence partners, all of whom shared an interest in natural philosophy and the digesting of all kinds of knowledge. Hartlib was in close touch with two men in particular: firstly, John Dury, a Scottish minister who strove after the reconciliation of the Protestant confessions.<sup>13</sup> In this context Dury regarded, among others, the popular English godly-living handbook *The practise of piety* (before 1612) by Lewis Bayly as a useful creed for an envisaged united church of Lutherans and Reformed.<sup>14</sup> The second was John Amos Comenius, bishop of the Moravian Brethren and advocate of pansophic knowledge.<sup>15</sup>

Hartlib himself strove for a more intensive manner of communication of all kinds of knowledge, which had, according to him, become corrupted after the Fall. One should not keep his talents hidden or secret, but should invest and share them. Hartlib called for the excerpting of books and the ordering of these excerpts in a synopsis, which would form a commonplace book on a range of topics.<sup>16</sup>

The three 'brothers', Hartlib, Dury and Comenius, all shared to some extent the expectation of an imminent kingdom of social, religious and political peace lasting for a thousand years (the theology of millenarianism). This would witness a substantial increase of knowledge that would lead to a restoration of the completeness of man's dominion over nature that had been lost at the Fall.

12 The title of the translation runs: *The Death of the Two Renowned Kings of Sweden and Bohemia [...] Publickly lamented in a Sermon, held before a Princely, Noble and Frequent Assembly, in the High-Dutch Congregation at The Hague* (London, I. D [awson], 1633). The entry at Stationer's Hall adds 'translated out of the high Dutch by T:H:'. It contains a sermon on 1 Sam. 1:19–20. See also: Arber E., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640* (London: 1877) vol. 4, entry for 18 Feb 1632/3, cf. Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 22.

13 See: Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*; Trevor-Roper H.R., *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change and other essays* (London – Melbourne – Toronto: 1967) 237–293; Lécho P.-O., *Un christianisme "sans partialité": Irénisme et méthode chez John Dury (v. 1600–1680)* (Paris: 2011).

14 Together with Johann Arndt's *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (1605–10), Bayly's book was intended to constitute the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue, the creeds of this united church, cf. Leube H., *Kalvinismus und Luthertum* (Leipzig: 1928), vol. 1, 237–238.

15 Blekastad M., *Comenius: Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komenský* (Oslo: 1969).

16 Greengrass M., "Samuel Hartlib and the Commonwealth of Learning", in Barnard J. et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge: 2002) vol. IV, 1557–1695.

Hartlib and his brothers regarded the political upheaval of the English Civil War in the 1640s as an opportunity for a universal reformation.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to the financial aid that Haak gave his countrymen, he also sent spiritual aid by means of published translations: between 1635 and 1639, five translations of English Reformed devotional books by Haak were published. These writings were of a Puritan stance, i.e. they reflect the plea for an earnest and intensive form of Christianity.<sup>18</sup> As a key part of Haak's work as a translator, as well as his theological interests, these works merit some attention. The first was a translation of the work of Henry Scudder, which discussed several aspects of walking with God.<sup>19</sup> The second and third were translations of works by Daniel Dyke.<sup>20</sup> The books dealt respectively with deception in the spiritual realm and repentance and conversion. Both Dyke translations were afterwards combined into one volume and became bestsellers among the German translations of English devotional literature, being published 19 times. Two further

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- 17 Webster C., *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626–1660* (London: 1975). Webster was an exponent of the 'Merton thesis' and the results of his work should therefore be treated with caution. This article is not intended as a contribution to the 'Merton thesis', according to which the Puritan ethic (cf. the Weber thesis) was one of the main constitutive elements of the rise of an experimental form of science in the 17th century; cf. Merton R.K., "Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth-Century England", *Osiris* 4 (1938) 360–632. This thesis has been justly questioned, see for example Cohen I.B. (ed.), *Puritanism and the Rise of Modern Science* (New Brunswick: 1990); Brooke J.H., *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge: 1991); Belluci D., *Science de la nature et Réformation* (Rome: 1998) 109–116.
- 18 Coffey J. – Lim P.C.H., "Introduction", in Coffey – Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: 2008) 1–15.
- 19 Scudder, *Eines wahren Christen tägliche Wallfahrt*. This was Haak's translation of the English original: *The Christians daily walke in holy securitie and peace* (London, I. D [awson]: 1627). Cf. McKenzie, *British Devotional Literature* vol. 1, 140ff.; McKenzie, *A catalog* 364, nos. 1497–1500.
- 20 Firstly, Dyke Daniel, *Nosce Teipsum, das grosse Geheimnuß deß Selb-Betrugs*, trans. T. Haak (Frankfurt am Main, Johann Friedrich Weiss: 1636). A translation of the original *The mystery of selfe-deceiung* (1614). The title page states that the book was translated by one D.H.P. and from another source, we know that this likely stands for Dietrichus Haak Palatinus. See: McKenzie, *A Catalog* 168–173, nos. 698–716. Secondly, Dyke Daniel: *Eine sehr nothwendige vnd vberauß nützliche Betrachtung vnd Beschreibung der Wahren Buße*, trans. T. Haak (Frankfurt am Main, Johann Friedrich Weiss: 1637) See also: McKenzie, *A catalog* 174–177, nos. 719–737. See, generally: McKenzie, *British devotional literature* vol. 1, 205–212; Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke und Hall* 102–111; McKenzie, *A catalog* 168, no. 698; Damrau, *The Reception of English Puritan Literature* 96–133.



translations produced by Haak included German versions of a work by Henry Whitfield, and an unknown English book on the art of prayer.<sup>21</sup>

In keeping with the compiling and commonplacing activities of Hartlib and his circle, in about 1656 Haak played a role in an envisaged—but probably never accomplished—project for a systematic collection of fragments from English devotional literature.<sup>22</sup> This work had been planned since the 1630s by a number of theologians from the Palatinate and Wetterau, including several acquaintances of Haak's: the Palatine court chaplain Petrus Streithagen, the doctor of theology Paul Tossanus of Heidelberg (Haak's uncle), and the minister and natural philosopher Johann Moriaen of Frankfurt.<sup>23</sup> The writers of a request for support for this project made a plea for the distribution of the English writings, as they were a hidden treasure for foreigners:

Talentum enim, quod a Deo singuli accepimus, fidei nostrae commissum est, ut illius dispensatores facti, non illud defodiamus, [...] sed ad Domini emolumentum impendamus [...], ne permittatis hoc talentum tam pretiosum ulterius abscondi et occultari ab Exocitorum minibus et oculis [...]

For the Talent, which every one of us have received of God, is committed to our trust, that we being distributors thereof, should not hide it in the ground [...] but employ it to the advantage of our Lord [...] that ye would not suffer so precious a Talent to be hid and concealed any longer from the hands and eyes of Forreiners [...]<sup>24</sup>

21 Whitfield Henry, *Ermunter dich, das ist: kurtze vnd einfältige Handleitung, wie sich ein jeder zu und in der übung der Gottseligkeit soll erwecken und aufmunteren*, trans. T. Haak (Amsterdam, Johann Janssonius: 1638). Title of the original: *Some helpees to stir up to Christian duties* (1634). See: McKenzie, *British devotional literature*, vol. 1, 143ff.; McKenzie, *A catalog* 433, no. 1769. *Bätt-Kunst oder einfältige und dabey sehr lehr- und trostreiche Betrachtung oder Erklärung des Gebätts des Herrn [...] aus dem Englischen übersetzt von D.H.P.* (Basel: 1639). The translation is mentioned by McKenzie, *A catalog* 4, no. 4, which draws on Beck H., *Die religiöse Volksliteratur der Evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands in einem Abriß ihrer Geschichte* (Gotha: 1891) 182. According to Beck, the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky Hamburg holds a copy.

22 For the following paragraphs, see: Kamp J. van de, "Ein frühes reformiert-pietistisches Netzwerk in der Kurpfalz in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 103 (2012) 238–265.

23 Young J.T., *Faith, Alchemy and Natural Philosophy: Johann Moriaen, Reformed Intelligencer, and the Hartlib Circle* (Aldershot: 1998).

24 Quoted from the second edition: *An earnest plea for gospel-communion in the way of godliness, which is sued for by the protestant churches of Germanie, unto the churches of Great*



The proposed compilation would, the plea continued, make theologians strive more earnestly for peace and love than for controversy.<sup>25</sup> In 1656—three years after Streithagen's death—Haak shared the following information within Hartlib's network: 'The Collections out of so many Practical Divinity English Writers which Mr Streithagen brought together are with his wife in salvo and are going about to bee printed'.<sup>26</sup> Presumably, this expected publication was the book *Homo novus* [A new man] that appeared at Heidelberg in 1658 under Streithagen's name. It was published with an introduction by two of Streithagen's colleagues: Marcus Floccenius from Heidelberg and Paul Wirtz from Mannheim.<sup>27</sup> Probably, Streithagen was a driving force behind the compilation project and neither his colleagues or Haak had time enough to continue it.

### Correspondence on Natural Philosophy

After years of wandering, it must have become clear to Haak that the political and military situation in the Palatinate would not allow him to return. In 1638, he settled definitively in London.<sup>28</sup> There, he had no permanent appointment, but he could afford this, because he was probably a man of independent means and high social standing.<sup>29</sup> In this new setting, Haak came into closer contact with Hartlib and his network, including the mathematician John Pell.

In 1639, Haak began to correspond with the French Father of the Minim Friars and scholar, Marin Mersenne, who was at the heart of a correspondence network dealing with natural philosophy. Most probably, Haak, with his good

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*Brittaine and Ireland*, ed. Durie John (London, Richard Wodnothe: 1654), fol. A3r (Latin version), fol. B1r (English version).

25 *The Hartlib papers: A Complete Text and Image Database of the Papers of Samuel Hartlib* (c. 1600–1662) (Sheffield: 2002) [CD-Rom], Copy letters, Tossanus to archb. of Canterbury, & Hanoverian divines to English divines, in Latin, 20.11.1632 and 15.3.1633, 59/10/53A-60B; Durie (ed.), *An earnest plea*, fols. A3r–B3r.

26 The Hartlib Papers, *Ephemerides* (1656) part 1, Hartlib 29/5/63B.

27 I have used the following edition: Streithagen Peter, *Homo novus Das ist: Ein new, gelehrt und gottseliges Tractätlein, von deß Menschen Wider-Geburt, auß unterschiedlichen der berühmtesten Englischen Theologen ... zusammen getragen* (Heidelberg, Wilhelm Walter, William Fitzer, Abraham Lülß: 1670), fol.):(2r – fol. :):(4v].

28 See Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 34–50, 71–88, 120–157.

29 Martin Kempe described Haak as 'Nobilis Palatinus' (Palatine nobleman) and as 'Teutscher Edelmann' (German nobleman) in Kempe, *Charismatum Sacrorum Trias* 20, 660.

proficiency in French, was asked by Hartlib and his friends to make contact with Mersenne in order to bring together similar aims. Haak and Mersenne exchanged scientific instruments, books, news on scholarly discoveries, and questions on scientific matters. Topics included optical lenses, magnetism, mathematics and musical instruments. Due to Haak's workload, the correspondence came to an end in 1640, but was resumed in 1647 until Mersenne's death in 1648. In August 1647, Haak wrote to Mersenne the enthusiastic plea for the sharing of knowledge which is printed at the beginning of this contribution.

The question how religious differences were handled within these correspondence networks is revealed by an instruction of Joachim Hübner to Comenius. As Comenius also began to write to Mersenne, Hübner instructed him that he should write less about religion, but rather as a Christian to another Christian.<sup>30</sup>

The example of Mersenne, who organized meetings to discuss new discoveries in natural philosophy, may have been what inspired Haak to organize something similar. The result was the '1645 Group', which would meet in Gresham College London. Amongst other virtuosi and natural philosophers, Dr John Wilkins belonged to this group, who had been Chaplain to the Prince Elector Palatine Charles Louis, and who had an intense interest in mathematics and other sciences, as well as the physician Jonathan Goddard. The discussions of the group concerned topics like magnetism, astronomy and natural experiments. The meetings excluded politics as well as theology, as those topics were at that time too dangerously controversial.

Soon after the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, the informal '1645 Group' was institutionalized into the Royal Society for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge. Haak was proposed as a candidate member of the society by Wilkins in 1661. He participated frequently in the meetings—for a time also serving in the Correspondence Committee and the Committee for Agriculture—and he was also active as correspondent and translator. Haak conducted an experiment with live vipers and a bottle of Malaga wine, and presented a sample of 'a kind of mastic made by ants in Franconia'.<sup>31</sup>

30 'multo minus de religione (quippe cujus causa optimus vir ille neminem odit), sed ut Christianus ad Christianum Christiane scribas' ('much less of religion (since that excellent man hates no-one on that account) but as a Christian to a Christian you are to write Christianly'), British Library, Sloane 639—Hübner J., *Epistolae ad Commenium*, Salmasium, Fabricium, Gronovium etc. (1635–1640), fol. 30 and 176 (b) (KK, I, no. 62), cf. Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 39–40.

31 Birch Thomas, *The History of the Royal Society* (London, [Samuel Richardson?], A. Millar: 1756), vol. 2, entry on 3.10.1667.

He corresponded, for example, with Abbess Elisabeth of the Palatinate and with John Winthrop, Governor of New England. Topics on which Haak corresponded were the breeding of oysters, experiments made by freezing coloured water in flasks, solar eclipses, geometrical problems, sugar refining and the generation of crystals in the Alps. Finally, he translated, among others, two Italian treatises on dyeing and, together with Henry Oldenburg, a German manuscript about amber.<sup>32</sup>

During the late 1660s and the 1670s, Haak seems to have been less active for the Society, for his name is absent from the *Journal Books* during this period. Nevertheless, he did some translation work, welcomed some continental visitors in England and introduced them to the Royal Society.<sup>33</sup> Two of those visitors were Martin Kempe and Heinrich Ludolf Benthem. Benthem, after his return home, wrote a book on the English church and education in which he also wrote on Haak and his work.<sup>34</sup> Its second edition contained a reference to a translation by Haak of a poem by his friend Georg Rudolf Weckherlin on *Psalm 104: The CIV Psalm according to the German Paraphrase of G.R.W. by T.H.* (1679).<sup>35</sup> No surviving copy of this translation has been found.

During the last years of his life, Haak was no longer a frequent attender of the meetings of the Society, but he was still active as correspondent and had a close friendship with the polymath Robert Hooke.<sup>36</sup> Topics covered in his correspondence now included magnetic experiments and phosphorus. In his own collection of curiosities, he possessed a 'strong loadstone' upon which he made some experiments.<sup>37</sup> In 1683 he gave two demonstrations for the Society

32 Birch, *The History of the Royal Society*, vol.1, entries on 14.5.1662 and 3.9.1662; vol.2, entry on 9.1.1668. See also: Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 125, 136–137.

33 In 1678, Haak translated some letters from the Dutch microscopist Anthonie van Leeuwenhoek to the Royal Society into English at the request of Robert Hooke: cf. Henderson F., "Making 'The Good Old Man' Speak English: The Reception of Antoni van Leeuwenhoek's Letters at the Royal Society, 1673–1723", in Cook H.J. – Dupré S. (eds.), *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Zurich – Münster: 2013) 243–268, there 248.

34 Benthem Heinrich Ludolf, *Engeländischer Kirch- und Schulen-Staat* (Lüneburg, Lipper: 1694) 56–59.

35 Benthem Heinrich Ludolf, *Neu-eröffneter Engeländischer Kirch- und Schulen-Staat* (Hannover, Philipp Gottfried Saurmann's heirs: 1732) 116.

36 For translating in the 'Hooke circle' see the chapter by Felicity Henderson in this volume.

37 Birch, *The History of the Royal Society*, vol. 4, entry on 23.6.1686, see: Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 152.

in which he showed how a magnet which had apparently lost its powers could be recharged. He also made his own phosphorus lamp.<sup>38</sup>

### Political Offices

According to Barnett Haak became distracted from his work on natural philosophy due to political or religious commissions during the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth.<sup>39</sup> He sided with Parliament, probably because his Reformed convictions were more compatible with the 'Puritan' position of Parliament than with the 'Anglican' position of King Charles I. In 1643/4, he was commissioned by Parliament to make a diplomatic journey to Denmark to resolve a quarrel about the seizing of ships both of the English Parliament and of Denmark. During this journey, Haak translated the *Solemn League and Covenant* (1642) and the *The Declaration of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, joined in Arms for the Vindication and defence of their Religion, Liberties, and Laws, against the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant party* (1643) into German. In both documents, England and Scotland declared that they had joined each other in the struggle for Reformed doctrine, a Presbyterian church government, independence of the church from the state, a plain liturgy and the reformation of manners.<sup>40</sup>

In Copenhagen, Haak took part in a discussion which sheds more light on the intentions which he may have had in mind with his translations of theological works. As we learn from a letter, he met a Dane, George Mosse, who had been arrested in London on account of the seized Danish ships. Mosse tried to harangue Haak and his companion, but Haak steered the discussion in the direction of spiritual topics. Mosse said that he esteemed the works of the German theologian Johann Arndt—probably his books on true Christianity—and that he had read Haak's translation *Nosce te ipsum*.<sup>41</sup>

In 1645, Haak was requested by the Westminster Assembly to render the Dutch States' Bible (*Statenvertaling*) (1637), including its annotations, into

38 Benthem Heinrich Ludolf, *Engeländischer Kirch- und Schulen-Staat* (Lüneburg, Johann Georg Lipper: 1694) 59–60.

39 See for this section particularly: Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 51–70, 89–119, 161–185.

40 Durston C. – Maltby J. (eds.), *Religion in revolutionary England* (Manchester – New York: 2006).

41 Berkshire Record Office, Reading: Trumbull Papers, Miscellaneous Correspondence xx—Haak's dispatches to Weckherlin from Denmark (1643–44) etc., 158 (16.12.1643).

English.<sup>42</sup> Haak may have been known to some of the deputies of the Assembly, such as John Dury, John White and Henry Scudder due to his previous translations of theological books.

After the Peace of Westphalia, Charles Louis, the son of the Winter King, who had held his court at London during the war, was installed as Elector Palatine at Heidelberg. He offered Haak the job of secretary, but Haak declined, wishing to stay in London. Instead, Haak became the unofficial London agent for the Elector in London: his task was to communicate on the main events and developments in England. In this function, upon request, he translated several political declarations into German, probably for those members of the staff of Charles Louis who were not acquainted enough with the English language: *Declarations of the Causes of the War with the Scotch* (1650) and probably also *Causes of the War with the Dutch* (1652). Haak also worked as correspondent for the English Parliament and as translator for the Secretary of State, John Thurloe. In 1651, he was asked to translate the proposition of an Oldenburg emissary from German into English, but declined.

In his secretarial function, Haak transferred the salary of his friend John Pell, for whom Haak had successfully negotiated a post as British Resident at Zurich, to Switzerland. Haak also sent books to Pell, among others theological books by William Gouge and James Duport. These books had been requested by the minister Johann Heinrich Hummel of Berne. Acting as couriers between England and Switzerland were, among others, Johann Zollikofer, who had been adjunct to the German Church at Geneva. Both Hummel and Zollikofer had studied in England (among other countries), were in touch with Dury and his friends, and had translated English devotional books into German.<sup>43</sup>

In 1655 Haak asked Pell via Hartlib—who himself had discussed this with others—whether the chronicle on the Protestant Waldensians in Piedmont (*Waldenser Chronik*) was worth translating into English. The Waldensians had

42 On Haak's translation of the Dutch Bible and its annotations, cf. also: Bremmer C.C., "Historische achtergrond van de Haakbijbel", *StandVastig*, 49, 4 (2014) 18–19; 50, 1 (2015) 10–11; 50, 2 (2015) 12–13.

43 See on Hummel: Ryter B., "Hummel, Johann Heinrich", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, version: 25.7.2005, URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10683.php>, accessed on 24 August 2015; Larminie V., "Johann Heinrich Hummel, the Peningtons and the London godly community: Anglo-Swiss networks 1634–1674", *Journal for the History of Reformed Pietism* 2, 2 (2016) 1–26. On Zollikofer: Stückelberger H.-M., *Die appenzellische reformierte Pfarrerschaft seit dem Bestehen jeder reformierten Kirchgemeinde bis 1977* (Herisau: 1977) 30. See on their translations: McKenzie, *A catalog*, General Index under 'Hummel, Johann Heinrich' and 'Zollikofer, Johannes'.

been massacred by soldiers of the Roman Catholic Duke of Savoy in that year. Haak probably did not translate this book.<sup>44</sup>

Due to the starting-up of the '1645 Group' as well as the scholarly and political correspondence, Haak's Bible translation project was delayed for several years. In 1655, Haak restarted the work with the help of two assistants whom he had engaged. Looking back in 1656, Haak wrote that the translation work had been 'put upon' him and that he wished not to undertake such a 'laborious work, at the publick desires, with so much losse of time and meanes to my self, instead of due encouragement or reward'.<sup>45</sup>

In 1657 Haak finally completed the Bible translation and it appeared under the title *The Dutch Annotations upon the whole Bible ... by Theodore Haak Esq. London*.<sup>46</sup> The Bible translation also contained Haak's dedication to the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell. In the dedication of his translation to the Lord Protector, Haak recommended the annotations as a means to spread God's truth and asked Cromwell insistently to stimulate religious unity and concordance.<sup>47</sup>

Starting in the late 1660s, Haak spent much time in translating the first books of John Milton's poetic epos *Paradise Lost* (1655), the original of which was highly valued immediately after publication.<sup>48</sup> The epos traces the history of the Fall from war in heaven and the fall of Satan until the banishment of Adam and Eve from paradise.<sup>49</sup>

Haak must have remained in direct and indirect contact with Milton. After he had translated a first draft, he continued correcting it. In 1682 in the German city of Zerbst, a translation of Milton's epos appeared under the title *Das Verlustigte Paradeis* and under the name of Ernst Gottlieb von Berge. Berge from Haak had received a copy of his translation. He had followed Haak's translation almost unaltered and added his translation of the remaining books

44 Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 106; Poole, "A Fragment of the Library" 15–16.

45 In letters to John Pell, Aug. 1656, 16 June 1657: British Library, MS Additional 24850, fols. 6–7, and 12.

46 It was printed by Henry Hills for the following publishers: John Rothwell, Joshua Kirton and Richard Tomlins.

47 According to Kempe, *Charismatum sacrorum trias* 484 (cf. Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 14 n. 24), Haak also translated *The Old Pilgrim, being the History of the Bible*, but no copy has been found.

48 For this and the following paragraphs, see: Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 146–167.

49 Schwartz, L. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Paradise Lost* (Cambridge: 2014).



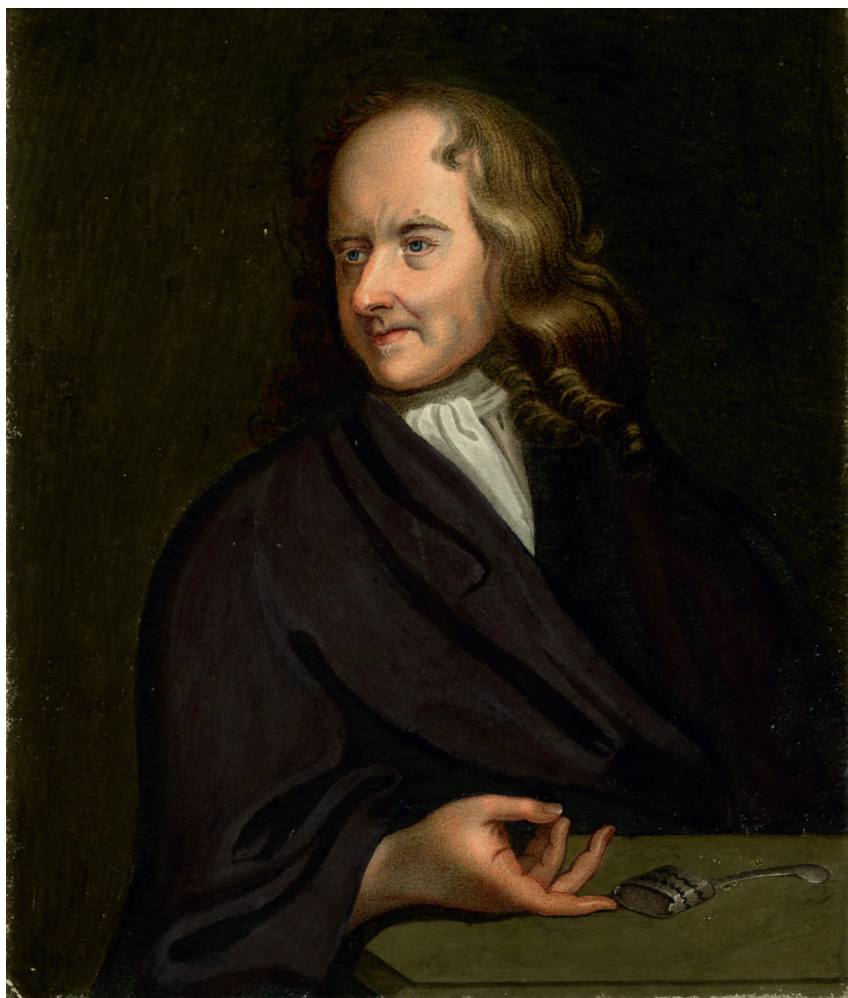


FIGURE 2.1 *Sylvester Harding, portrait of Theodore Haak. Drawing, 151 × 122 mm. London, British Museum.*

of the original.<sup>50</sup> Haak must have handed a copy of a newer version of his translation to J.S. Fabricius, professor of Greek and history at Heidelberg.

In 1673, Haak made his will, in which he made bequests to, among others, the poor of his parish and the French and Dutch London Reformed Churches. Haak probably died on 5 May 1690. According to Anthony Wood, Haak had

<sup>50</sup> From a comparison, it turns out that Haak used the 1667 edition of the original; von Berge, however, used the second edition of 1674 in combination with Haak's translation: Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 147–148.



left 3,000 proverbs translated from German into English and the same number translated from Spanish into German (?).<sup>51</sup> No traces of these proverbs remain.

### Translation Method

In order to discover the manner in which Haak rendered his source texts into the target language, I have compared fragments from three translations. These were produced at the beginning, middle and the end of his career as translator: the sermon by Friedrich Schloer and the Dutch Bible.<sup>52</sup> I will compare my findings with the results of Barnett and Peter Damrau regarding the translation strategies that Haak used in his translations of the two books of Daniel Dyke and Milton's epos.

In the translation of Schloer's sermon from German into English, Haak changes the number of words.<sup>53</sup> He both augments and abbreviates the number of words, as the following two examples respectively demonstrate:

[German, p. 3]: daß er dieselbige vns gnädiglich verzeihen, die hochbe-trübte Königliche Fürstliche Häuser, vnd alle bekümmerte hertzen mit dem H. Geist trösten

[English, fol. A3r-v]: to pray to GOD for a gracious pardon: and that thus reconciled, He would bee pleased with the dew of his blessed comforts to refresh, uphold, and cherish the Royall & Princesly Houses, and all the true hearted Friends & Dependants of those deceased *Worthies*

Haak adds 'to pray to GOD', 'and that thus reconciled, He would bee pleased with the dew of', 'refresh', 'cherish' and he specifies 'alle bekümmerte hertzen' [all anxious hearts] by 'all the true hearted Friends & Dependants of those deceased *Worthies*'.

51 Wood A.A., *Athenae Oxonienses, & Fasti Oxoniensis* (London: 1813), vol. 4, 278–280.

52 From the sermon by Schloer, nine pages were compared, and from the Dutch Bible three (larger-sized) pages. These sample pages are spread over the beginning, middle and end of the book. For the comparison, I have made use of the model by Chesterman A., *Memes of Translation* (Amsterdam – Philadelphia: 1997) 87–116.

53 Schloer Friedrich, *Klag- und Trawerpredigt, Über den tödtlichen Abgang zweyer fürnemen Königen* (Leiden, Bonaventura Elzevier, Abraham I Elzevier, 1633); Schloer Friedrich, *The death of the two renowned kings of Sweden and Bohemia*, transl. T. Haak (London, I. D[awson], Nicholas Bourne: 1633).

[German, p. 23]: Ach wer wolte dann dieses leben lieb haben, welches thränen zu einem *prologo* vnnd eingang, den todt zu einem *epilogo* vnd außgang, vnd mühe vnd arbeit zur *tractation* vnd fortgang hat.

[English p. 45–46]: who then would be in love with this life, whose Prologue is *weeping*, whose Act is *weeping*, whose Epilogue is *weeping*.

In the source text the contents of the prologue ('thränen': weeping), act ('mühe vnd arbeit': effort and work) and epilogue ('todt': dead) are different, but in the translation the content is the same: *weeping*. Haak also paraphrases certain phrases, for example reinforcing their propositions:

[German, p. 3]: die zween fürnemste Patronen der Evangelischen Religion

[English, fol. A2v]: two of the chiefest Patrones of true *Religion*

Haak replaces 'der Evangelische[n] Religion' (Protestant religion) by "true *Religion*".

[German, p. 15]: auch wegen der trefflichen Thaten

[English, p. 27]: also for his matchlesse and imparalell Heroike Acts

Here Haak replaces 'treffliche[n]' [excellent] by 'matchlesse and imparalell Heroike'.

In addition, Haak changes tropes. In the following example, the source text does only contain the metaphor 'nehren' [to feed], but Haak adds a few, such as to root, plant, harbour, spoile and cumber:

[German, p. 21]: So ist die sünde auch gut in vnserer *memori* vnd gedächtniß, offft daran zu gedencken, vnd was sie mit sich bringet: aber nicht gut in vnsern hertzen, dieselbige zu nehren vnd zu behertzigen.

[English, p. 42]: so will sinne likewise be good, to be rooted in our memorie, to remember both it, and the grievous consequents of it, but not good to plant any in our hearts, to feed and harbour it there, to spoile and cumber the ground.

Haak has also a tendency to domesticate his source text. For this reason, he eliminates references to Germany as 'Vaterland Teutscher Nation' (our

Fatherland of the German Nation), and he translates quotes from foreign languages like Latin into English:

[German, p. 3]: vnser geliebtes Vaterland Teutscher Nation

[English, fol. A2r]: especially our own deare *Country* and *Nation*

[German, p. 22]: *Ambrosius* tröstete die Vnterthanen nach dem todt *Theodosii* also: *Descedit, sed non totus: reliquit enim liberos, in quibus ipsum cernamus.*

[English, p. 44]: Saint *Ambrose* comforted the people after the death of *Theodosius* in this manner: *Discedit, sed non totus; reliquit enim liberos, in quibus ipsum cernamus*; He is gone, but not wholly, for he left children, in whom we may see him still.

The tendency to domesticate is also found in regard to Bible verses quoted by Friedrich Schloer. Where the German version is largely identical to the King James Version (KJV), Haak follows the latter. Where it is not, he translates the Bible verse afresh out of the German.

[German, p. 4]: [2 *Sam* 1,19–20] Und David klagt: Die Edelsten in Israel (oder, die Zierde in Israel) seind auff deiner höhe erschlagen: Wie sind die Helden gefallen. Sagets nicht an zu Gath, verkündigets nicht auff den Gassen zu Askalon, daß sich nicht frewen die Töchter der Philister, daß nicht frolocken die Töchter der vnbeschnittenen.

[English, p. 1]: *And David lamented: The beautie of Israel is slaine upon thy high places; How are the Mightie fallen? Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streetes of Askalon, least the Daughters of the Philistins reioyce, least the Daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.*

**KJV 1611:** The beauty of Israel is slaine vpon thy high places: how are the mightie fallen! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streetes of Askalon: lest the daughters of the Philistines reioyce, lest the daughters of the vn-circumcised triumph.<sup>54</sup>

54 For an online full text version of the King James Bible, see <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org>, last accessed on 2 September 2016.

Haak follows the King James Version here.

[German, p. 22]: [Ps. 146,3–5]. Verlasset euch nit auf Fürsten sie sind menschen geist muß davon, vnnd er muß wider zu der erden werden, alsdann sind verlohren alle seine anschläge

[English, p. 43]: *Put not your confidence in Princes, they are men and cannot helpe, their breath goeth forth, they returne to earth, in that very day their thoughts perish.*

**KJV 1611:** Put not your trust in Princes: nor in the sonne of man, in whom there is no helpe. His breath goeth foorth, he returneth to his earth: in that very day his thoughts perish.

In the phrase ‘sie sind menschen’ the subject is plural, whereas in the King James Version it is singular (‘the sonne of man’). Haak follows here the German source text: *‘they are men’*.

Haak also tends to be more explicit in his translation, as the following example shows:

[German, p. 3]: als wil es sich in alle weg gebüren, bey zeiten dem Allmächtigen in die ruthen zu fallen, durch waare unverfälschte busse und grössere sorgfältigkeit dem HErrn zu dienen, als wir bißhero gethan.

[English, fol. A3r]: it is most requisite, that with unfained repentance, and effectuall resolutions of serving GOD more carefully than ever yet wee have done, we goe to meete the LORD, and to hold his hands from destroying us utterly.

In this translation, Haak adds the impending background for the exhortation to repentance and the resolution of serving God, namely ‘to hold his hands from destroying us utterly’.

In addition, Haak sometimes adds information:

[German, p. 15]: dardurch Sie [the kings of Bohemia and Sweden, JvdK] gesucht, das Evangelium außzubreiten.

[English, p. 27–28]: to propagate the *Gospell of Christ*, whereby, all unhappie accidents notwithstanding.

In this case Haak adds ‘whereby, all unhappie accidents notwithstanding’, the accidents suffered by the kings.

The relation between author and reader is also changed by Haak. Catchwords like the complaint “Ach” (Oh!) are eliminated:

[German, p. 4]: Ach! Jhr Geliebten

[English, p. 2]: *Beloved*

Finally, Haak alters the voice of the linguistic act. In the following example, he has changed a question (‘haben dann [...]?’) into a statement (‘I trow [...]’):

[German, p. 21]: Wie? haben dann die Israeliter wöllen bottschaft nach Gath schicken vnd den Philistern die zeitung sagen lassen, daß sie jhren König Saul verlohren?

[English, p. 40]: Why? I trow the *Israelites* would send no Messengers to *Gath*, to bring the newes to the *Philistines*, that they had lost *Saul* their King.

In a comparison of his second translation with the source text, the Dutch Bible together with its annotations, Haak has (as already analysed previously by Barnett), in comparison with his translation of theological books, only made minor changes.<sup>55</sup> In general, he stays very close to the source text. Where the Dutch translation of a specific verse is substantially identical to the King James Version he follows the latter; where it is not, he translates the verse straight from the Dutch.<sup>56</sup>

In addition to the translation strategies which Haak applies in his rendering of Schloer’s sermon, he employs several other strategies in his translation of the annotations. First, he adds figures of speech.

[Dutch, *Proverbia* fol. 11r]: met allerleye seer beweechlicke vermaningen tot onsen schuldigen plicht

<sup>55</sup> For the Dutch State Bible (Statenvertaling), see the transcription of the 1637 edition overseen by Nicoline van der Sijs: <http://www.bijbelsdigitaal.nl/statenvertaling-1637/>, accessed on 2 September 2016. For Haak’s translation: *The Dutch annotations upon the whole Bible* (London, Henry Hills, John Rothwell, Joshua Kirton, Richard Tomlins: 1657).

<sup>56</sup> Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 117–118.

[English, fol. 5A4r]: with all manner of effectuall exhortations and perswasions to the performance of our dutie

Haak adds assonance: 'exhortations'—'perswasions'—in the source text only 'vermaningen' [exhortations], as well as alliteration: 'perswasions'—'performance' (not in the source text).

How did Haak translate other writings? Barnett and Damrau give examples of the translation strategies regarding Daniel Dyke's books and John Milton's poem. In his translation of Dyke's books Haak, who is now translating from English into German, often adds synonyms and he enlarges passages, for example to explain or to reinforce an utterance. Haak also domesticates the source text. For example he omits the passage concerned with the late brother of the countess to whom the original was dedicated. Concerning Bible verses Haak either translates literally from the English or he follows Luther's Bible translation more or less. Finally, Haak sometimes paraphrases. He rewrites Dyke's specific rejection of Roman Catholic images and the mass into a general rejection of idolatry:

[English]: O says one, I abhorre the Popish images, and the idolatry of the masse.<sup>57</sup>

[German]: GER: Ich bin allem Götzendienst und Götzendienern von Hertzen Gram.<sup>58</sup>

[I have a heartfelt abhorrence of all idolatry and idol-worship.]

In addition, Haak exchanges biblical characters for ordinary people and he omits the Church's misery and writes instead about the experience of the Thirty Year's War. Damrau's suggestion to interpret this as a form of secularization should be checked more thoroughly.<sup>59</sup>

Regarding Haak's translation of Milton's *Paradise lost*, we can observe that Haak renders his source text fairly literally, which, however, can lead to an un-

57 Dyke Daniel, "A treatise of repentance", in: Dyke Daniel, *Two treatises. The one, of repentance: the other, of Christs temptations*, London, Edward Griffin, Ralph Mab (London, Edward Griffin for Ralph Mab: 1616) (STC (2nd ed.), 7408.2) 64.

58 Dyke Daniel, "Die Wahre Buß", in Dyke Daniel, *Nosce te ipsum* (Frankfurt am Main, Johann Philipp Weiss: 1652) 646. See Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 32.

59 See for Haak's translation strategy regarding Dyke's writings: Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 16–18; Damrau, *The Reception of English Puritan Literature* 100–131.

common word order in the German as well as to a poor vocabulary, with some words recurring again and again.<sup>60</sup> Although Haak has a tendency to literal translation, in some cases he makes changes in unit length: he has dissected one phrase into three separate phrases. The effect of this change is that the retardation and suspense that Milton had created in his epos is eliminated. Another kind of change that Haak applies concerns the structure of a constituent (a word or a group of words that function(s) as a single unit within a hierarchical structure): Haak changes a present participle ('moving') into the simple present ('stepft'), thus changing the tempo of the description: instead of the slow and steady action in the original, described by continuous tenses, and actions taking place partly simultaneously, events in the translation pass in quick succession.<sup>61</sup> In his translation, Haak also makes changes in hyponymy, turning a hyponym into a hyperonym: he summarizes a listing of Roman Catholic elements—'reliques, beads, / Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls'—into the hyperonym 'heythum' [relics].<sup>62</sup> Finally, whereas in Milton's original the characters, like Satan and his companion Beelzebub are depicted in shades of grey and with subtle references, Haak casts them in black and white.<sup>63</sup>

If one compares the translation strategies which Haak has applied, it appears that he translated the Dutch Bibel and Milton's poem quite literally. He made more changes, for example by adding synonyms or using paraphrase in his translations of theological works, for which reason his translations were longer than the respective source texts. He turns out to be most skilled in translation non-fiction literature and to be poorly skilled in literary translation.

## Conclusion

We turn back to the question posed at the beginning of this article: what was the role of Haak's network in regard to his translations of various texts, ranging in subject matter from theology to natural philosophy and politics?

60 Milton John, *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, vol. 1: *Paradise Lost*, ed. H. Darbishire (Oxford: 1963); [Milton John], "Das verlustigte Paradeis", Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek—Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek, ms Poet. 4° 2.

61 Milton, *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, vol. 1, book II, lines 674–676; [Milton], "Das verlustigte Paradeis", book II, lines 675–677. See Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 182–183.

62 Milton, *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, vol. 1, book III, lines 490–492; [Milton], "Das verlustigte Paradeis", book III, lines 489–490. See Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 32–33.

63 See for Haak's translation strategy concerning Milton's epos: Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 168–186.



In some cases, it is clear that Haak rendered the texts at others' request, such as the Dutch Bible; the translations that he made in the context of his duties as political correspondent; and presumably also the texts on natural philosophy. The sermon by his cousin Schloer and the paraphrase of Psalm 104 by his friend Weckherlin may also have come into being by request: both men may have asked Haak to translate their publications into English. The background to his other translations, such as the theological works, the political declarations that Haak translated during his diplomatic mission to Denmark, and Milton's epos, is not clear. Haak may have been driven in these cases by his own interest.<sup>64</sup> However, this also will have applied to his other translations, although he complained about the workload of the Dutch Bible project.

His networks were thus responsible for certain requests to produce translations. This was not the only way in which his network played a role at the level of the production of translations: Haak co-produced a translation of a manuscript on amber together with Henry Oldenburg; he asked Pell if he considered the chronicle on the Vaudois people worth translating; he had direct and indirect contact with Milton; and he gave a copy of his translation to von Berge, who afterwards revised it. Third parties also played a role at the level of distribution and reception of Haak's translations: Haak alerted the participants in the Hartlib Circle to the publication of Streithagen's book, he gave a second copy of his rendering of *Paradise Lost* to Fabricius, and he read aloud parts of his Dyke translation to fellow members of the congregation at Cologne.

With his proficiency in Dutch, English, Italian, Latin and Spanish, Haak seems to have been exceptionally skilled during his times. In addition, he not only translated into his native language, but also into English. Also as a migrant and "go-between" between England and the continent, he was an excellent candidate for the role of translator. Peter Burke has pointed to the important

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64 Haak's translation work may also have been connected with an interest in linguistics. In 1657, in a letter to Pell, he expressed the wish that Pell might help in the setting up of a proposal regarding 'universal character & language', British Library, MS Additional 24850—Original letters addressed to Dr. John Pell, English agent with the Swiss Protestant Cantons (1655–1658), fol. 12 (16 June 1657). In 1668, Haak belonged to the committee within the Royal Society which was tasked with reporting on John Wilkins's Essay toward a real character and a philosophical language, Stimson D., "Dr. Wilkins & the Royal Society", *Journal of Modern History* 3, 4 (1931) 557. Within the Royal Society, there were other translators who were working on the project of creating a universal language, like Francis Lodwick (1619–1694), cf. Lodwick F., *On Language, Theology, and Utopia*, ed. F. Henderson – W. Poole (Oxford: 2011). For seventeenth-century language projects, see Lewis R., *Language, Mind and Nature: Artificial Languages in England from Bacon to Locke* (Cambridge: 2007).

role of migrants in translating texts in early modern times.<sup>65</sup> Haak was able to profit from the international network in which he participated, which partly overlapped with other networks: the fund collectors for the exiled Palatine ministers, the group of Palatine men who made efforts for the production of a body of divinity out of English devotional literature, those who strove after a reconciliation of Lutherans and Reformed, and those who were interested in the developments of natural philosophy.

That Haak's translation work was, as it were, embedded within his network and correspondence is not astonishing, given his convictions on the need of communicating. In the quotation at the beginning of this article, Haak expressed—with an allusion to the parable of the talents which should not be hidden in a handkerchief (*Matth.* 25:14–30)—his joy at communicating his own goods to others, just as God does good with such an ardour to even the most ungrateful people of the world. In a letter to Johann Christian von Boyneburg, the chief court marshal of the Elector of Mainz, he describes the sole aim of the Royal Society as the honour of serving and doing good to humanity by doing one's utmost for 'the real, exacting and assiduous investigation of nature'.<sup>66</sup> Barnett is right in stating that the 'idea of communication provides the common motive behind all the major activities of his life and fits him equally for the roles of translator and of promoter of scientific discussion and experiment'.<sup>67</sup> The motive of not hiding but sharing one's talents is also found in Hartlib and the German theologians who longed for a systematic collection of fragments from English devotional works.

Haak's network consisted of men of different confessions. There seems to be a discrepancy between his correspondence with the Roman Catholic cleric Mersenne on the one hand and his translating works with a strongly Reformed theological stance and collecting money for Reformed ministers on the other.

65 Burke P., *Lost (and Found) in Translation: A Cultural History of Translators and Translating in Early Modern Europe* (Wassenaar: 2005) 10–12; Burke P., "The Renaissance-Translator as Go-Between", in Höfele A. – Koppenfels W. von, *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin: 2005) 17–31; Burke P., "Cultures of translation in early modern Europe", in Burke – Po-chia Hsia, *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* 7–38.

66 'l'honneur de servir et faire du bien à tout le genre humain, s'adonnent et s'esvertuent, chacun à part soy et conjointement, à la reelle, severe et assidue perquisition de la nature', Haak to Johann Christian von Boyneburg, 18/28 Feb. 1663, published in Gruber Johann Daniel, *Commercii Epistolici Leibnitiani* (Hannover – Göttingen, brothers Schmidt: 1745) II, 1083 (20 Feb./ 1 March 1663), cf. Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 126.

67 Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 7.

The former was a domain where confessional differences were not supposed to be addressed. How does this square?

This combination may be explained by reference to the ideal of the humanistic Republic of Letters, which arose during the sixteenth century, to exchange knowledge across political and confessional boundaries. The topic of natural philosophy may have lent itself excellently to this correspondence, as it did not deal with systematic theology but with another division of theology, one which was regarded as common ground between Christians of all confessions and even between Christians and non-Christians: natural theology, the investigation of nature to find proofs for the existence and continuing work of God.<sup>68</sup> An indication for this from Haak's network is the instruction by Hübner to the Protestant Comenius that he should write to the Roman Catholic Mersenne less about religion, but rather as a Christian to another Christian.

The circumstance that Haak was an irenic man both in regard to political and religious matters may also have played an important role.<sup>69</sup> Good indications for this are his conversation with George Mosse at Copenhagen his book dedication to Cromwell as well as the reduction or general description of Roman Catholic elements in his translation. Haak may have been raised with this irenic spirit in the Palatinate and it may have been strengthened in the context of the devastating effects of religious strife in his home country.<sup>70</sup> He may have received additional impulses in this regard from Dury and others.

His talk with Mosse may demonstrate that Haak considered piety—as did Dury—a 'binder' between people of different political and confessional opinions: Mosse was probably a Lutheran from Denmark or Northern Germany. To a slight extent, Haak and Dury saw the doctrines of their own, Reformed, confession as merely relative to the importance of a godly life.

Nevertheless, Haak remained committed to the Reformed Church and its doctrines: later in life, he translated the Dutch States' Bible with its strong

68 Mandelbrote S., "Early Modern Natural Theologies", in Manning R.R. – Brooke J.H. – Watts F. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Natural Theology* (Oxford: 2013) 75–99. Cf. the theologian Johann Heinrich Alsted, who, deeply influenced by the pansophic thoughts of Comenius, wrote *Theologia naturalis* (1615). Cf. Hotson H., *Johann Heinrich Alsted 1588–1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform* (Oxford: 2000).

69 See for example the fact that Haak participated in the political and diplomatic circles of the Commonwealth and after the Restoration joined the Royal Society, which was established by a royal charter. Barnett interprets this not as the conduct of a chameleon, but she assumes rather that Haak only had major qualms with political changes if they affected his moral and spiritual ideas. She assumes that this was not the case with the Commonwealth and the Restoration: see Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 122.

70 Barnett, *Theodore Haak* 32–33.

Reformed stance, and in his will he bequeathed a substantial portion of his goods to the French and Dutch Reformed Churches in London.

Finally, regarding Haak's translation method, it has turned out that he translated the Dutch Bible more literally than theological works and that he was more skilled in translating non-fiction writings than literary work.

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